1:Métraux--1 E-5 (1931) 1935 SF24 Uro SF24
Ancoaqui

Introduction

It was solely with the intention of obtaining some elements of comparison for my Cipaya dictionary that I, in the company of Professor A. Fonseca, made a one week visit to the Uro of the Desaguadero in June, 1931. These Indians live in the village of Ancoaqui, on the right bank of the Desaguadero, about 25 kilometers from the Bolivian port of Chaqui. There are only a handful of them, 40 at the very most. Even taking into account those who were absent and the small agglomerations spread throughout the region, I seriously doubt whether the remaining Uro number a hundred. It was, therefore, imperative to record their language. The case of the Uro is typical of the rudimentary and anarchic state of South American ethnography. For a long time these Indians have been considered one of the most interesting ethnic elements of the Andean region. Nevertheless, no one has thought of living among them and devoting a serious and methodical study to them. The excellent monograph of Dr. Bingo (It was Mr. de Créqui

[Text continues on p. 2]

1. Créqui Montfort (G. de) and Rivet (P.). "La langue uro ou puquina /The Uro or Puquina Language/." Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris, new series. Vol. XVII (1925), pp. 211-264; Vol. XVIII (1926), pp. 111-139; Vol. XIX (1927), pp. 97-116. To the works assembled in this article the following must be added: McCurdies McBride (C.). "The Agrarian Indian Communities of Highland Bolivia." American Geographical Society Research Series, No. 3. New York, 1921, p. 17. "There are the Uros that dwell beside the Desaguadero, the river that drains

Caranga:-
Chipaya

/111 cont./

Forward

In the following pages I propose to set forth the observations that I have been able to make on the social organization, religion, and material life of the Uro-Čipaya /Uru-Chipaya/ Indians among whom I lived in the course of an expedition carried out on the Bolivian Altiplano during the summers of 1930 and 1931. I had singular luck during my entire stay. I happened to be there at the very moment when these Indians have most of their festivals, and luck having enabled me to be present at the first one, the Čipaya, convinced of my respectful sentiments and enchanted by my distributing coca and alcohol, were not afraid to take me /112/ to the following ones. I was aided in my investigation by an Aymara interpreter whom I had brought with me from Oruro and who displayed a zeal which I would never have expected from a member of his race. He served continually /Map 1 appears here/ as intermediary for me with the Čipaya and began conducting inquiries on his own, the results of which he communicated to me. Without him it would have been very difficult for me to discover the meaning of the prayers and sacred formulas which I gathered. Although the Čipaya all speak Aymara fluently they know very little Spanish. Those who do gabble it /113/ are neither the most gifted nor the best informed on things of the past, and I would have had painful informants in them.

A still longer period of contact with the Čipaya would hardly, I fear, have brought me new facts. When I left these Indians they had ceremonies before me practically the entire cycle of their main festivals, and in order to participate in the next one I would have had to wait nearly six months. Their ritual is in any case very scanty: all the ceremonies, no matter what the subject, unfold according to a plan which is always the same. As for actual religious beliefs, I strongly doubt that a closer intimacy with these Indians would have brought me new discoveries. We should not forget that the Čipaya number only a handful, that they have been

[Text continues on P.6]

/113 cont./

Christian for at least 300 years, and that they are today in a truly sad state of intellectual inferiority. The individuals with whom I was in close contact always gave me the impression that they had communicated all that they knew on the points I wished to know. It was generally very little. I do not think that I was a victim of their reserve or dissembling, for my informants never nourished hostile feelings with regard to me, to all appearances at least. I am also convinced that they made an effort to satisfy me. They were encouraged to do so by self-interest, because I always tried to recompense them for each piece of information generously.

Here as in many other places the skeleton of the old religion has been maintained practically intact, but the representations /sic/ of which this ensemble of rites were the expression have disappeared forever. The myths that I have been able to collect are themselves only vague reminiscences of more complex traditions. My documents have, nonetheless, a certain interest in that they give us in a complete form a description of a great number of festivals and characteristic rites of the popular religion in the Inca empire which up to now were only fragmentarily known. They allow us to establish the existence of certain cults, such as those of mal'ku animals or plants about which we had only incomplete indications.

The phonetic transcription of native sounds used in the course of this article is the same as that which Dr. Paul Rivet uses in the article cited above (note 1, p. 1); ĉ corresponds to the Spanish "ch." ĉ to the French "ch." ĵ is an affricate that would be transcribed in French by "dj"; x is the Spanish "j," and ĵ is the "j" of the same language. The combined sign b͡ is a mid-occlusive, the cutting off of which produces a sound close to Spanish "j." A guttural occlusion is indicated by hard breathing. The vowel ĕ is a very open e close to a closed a.

2:Métraux--129 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935.1936 SF24 Urc SF24

Cayanga-
Cipaya

/393 cont./

964 with her spoon and other effects. This is the fate which the earthly goods left by the Cipaya undergo, and the charred remains of their buildings are piled up beside the enclosure where their body re-
[152] poses. The husband gave out a few more wails near the tomb and returned home, escorted by a large number of individuals who
965 came to take their share of the funerary feast. The widower's family had been occupied with it since morning and had slaughtered two sheep and put enormous bottles full of quinua pulp on the fire.
[91] Among the Cipaya as among the Aymara, mourning obligations force the survivors to make considerable sacrifices and to dissipate their meager capital.

Passing near the hut of the widower this same evening, I saw him with one of his children on his back and the other near
[152] him busy preparing his dinner. On /394/ seeing me he let out some moans, too modulated to be the expression of any sentiment. This was the last evidence of regret that the dead woman received. From the next day on she was forgotten, and the village, disturbed for a moment, sank back into silence and indifference.

Myths and tales

• 121 The way that I made among the Cipaya was dedicated in large part to gathering as many elements as possible of their agonizing language. In the hope of being able to make a grammar out of it, I busied myself as much as possible with assembling expressions, phrases, and coherent narrative. Accomplishing
[91] this task was not always easy for me. The Cipaya know only Aymara outside their own language and, with the exception of the corregidor and two or three young people, do not know a word of Spanish. In order to be able to deal with them, I almost al-
[24] ways had to have recourse to my Aymara interpreter, and the impossibility which often arose of being able to communicate

Childress--230 C-S (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 9724 thru 9734

Cayuga--
Cayuga

directly with my informants was a constant source of difficulties and misunderstandings for me. The chief obstacle which I had to surmount, however, was of a psychological nature: the strength of inertia and the mental laziness of the Cayuga. They offer a dual resistance to the investigator, composed both of indifference and hesitancy, which the handsomest gifts cannot conquer.

Evenings in their round huts, they are not accustomed to gather together to narrate stories, as do the natives of Chaco. As soon as their last meal has been taken, they roll themselves in their blankets, extinguish their wretched fire of tagua (dried excrement), and sleep heavily until morn. During the fortnight they drew, pay, and chew their cocs, but never succeeds in the joys of conversation.

When I began my investigation of tales and myths, I received the unanimous response that no one in the village had known any for a long time. I was conducted to a blind, paralytic old man, the oldest man of the tribe, who recited the myth of the origin of the Cayuga to me, which I have transcribed below. All the efforts I subsequently made to draw other tales out of him coincided with his ignorance, which I believe to have been real.

The five tales which I was able to save down were practically all dictated to me by the renegade of Cayuga, a young man about 20 years old who, with another inhabitant of the village, had gone voluntarily to present himself at Chaco to do his military service there. He had come back with a few vague rudiments of Spanish, numerical measures, and a high /395/ opinion of his ability and of himself. He was my best informant. I was not able to find out if the tales he dictated to me were previously known to him, or if he had gone to ask his father for them to win the large premium I had promised to those who would come and tell stories about them or animals to me. It will be realized these tales are very abridged and incoherent and constitute reminiscences of episodes rather than continuous narratives. They are serious fragments of myths which have passed to the level of diverting anecdotes. I do not

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Cayuga-
Chippewa
Arapaho 5F5

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	Men	Women
Transport	0	0
Irrigation	0	-
Cultivation	0	-
Instrumental music	0	-
Basket-making	0	-
Crochet	0	-
Trade	0	0
Fishing	0	-
Bird hunting	0	-

Comparative Study

The comparative study which I am going to make of the Cayuga objects and industries and those of ancient and modern Iroquois populations could not be exhaustive. I lack too many books to undertake the complete bibliography of the subjects with which I propose to deal, and I fear /183/ that for lack of memorial many parallels between certain forms of the material life of the Cayuga today and of the old Iroquois tribes may have escaped me.

Village and huts. I have already indicated the strange confusion which the ordering of the village of these Indians presents to that of us here city. Cases for example. The towns and towns are have as exact equivalent in the two ages, particularly in the two cases as districts of Cayuga. Longhouse and Longhouse in for the alignment of chapels as cemeteries, they are nothing more than Christianized longhouses.

At the time of the Conquest had for a century afterward the Iroquois lived in huts similar in every respect to those of the Cayuga with the exception of the chief, who, like the present-day navigator of the "canoes" of Cayuga, lived in quadrangular houses. It is under Iroquois influence that the Iroquois hut evolved into its present aspect, which differs little from Creole houses. But even in our day

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Carangas-
Chipaya

The Uro Language

(Chipaya Dialect) (2)

1. Gathered by the author during January-February 1931.

Introduction

My trip to Chipaya had as its basic goal saving the Uro language. Nothing was closer to my heart during my entire stay than collecting as complete documentation as possible on this dying language. My zeal was sustained by the conviction that I was certainly the last ethnographer who would have the chance to gather the last sounds of an unimaginably very old speech. I must admit that the results did not come up to my efforts and that I am far from having obtained the documents which I hoped to collect. Nevertheless, if my dictionary and texts give only a partial ideal of Uro-Chipaya, this is because in 1931 it was already too late to collect the elements of this language which would have permitted an exhaustive study of it. If the Indian twelfth hour of which the German ethnographers love so much has not already sounded for the Uro language, I can assure you that its days are numbered. Its disappearance is a matter of only a few years. Nothing is more disappointing than being present at the death of a language. Every instant one is confronted by gaps, by blanks filled by foreign elements which give the language the appearance of a patched cloth. One would like to reconstruct the missing pieces, one hunts for words and expressions, but this pursuit is for the most part in vain: the word has disappeared from the consciousness of all the individuals composing the group. However painful an investigation conducted under these [illegible] conditions may be, it does not lessen the possibility of making some interesting observations on the way in which one language is substituted for another. Uro, as much in Chipaya as

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According to the latest news the group of Iru-Itu seems to be reduced to some 12 people, although since 1946 the level of the lake has risen considerably; in February 1947 it had already risen 80 centimeters. This rising movement is continuing, and the totora beds are slowly beginning to reform.

The old Uru remembered having seen in their youth, around 1870, an even worse drought than that of these last years. But at that time they were more numerous and the group was able to subsist. Now it is too diminished to reconstitute itself and its disappearance seems definite.

I visited the Uru of Iru-Itu for the first time in 1938. During my stay in Bolivia from 1940 to 1944 I was in constant contact with them. Their misery and their decline did not allow me to glean important observations on their material culture, already studied by the numerous ethnographers who have stayed among the Uru of the Desaguadero. Their imminent disappearance made it necessary, however, to bring together everything which might still exist among them: anthropological observations, traditions, and linguistic records, in order to compare them with the other populations of the region and especially with the different groups of fishers on Lake Titicaca.

These are the results of this study, the publication of which we are beginning.

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Note I

Accounts and Conversations

The linguistic records at our disposal on the Uru are reduced to some quick observations and more or less expanded vocabularies gathered by travelers in the course of brief stays in the region of Iru-Itu. Métraux is the only one to have published texts in the Chipaya dialect. No text exists in the Iru-Itu dialect, and the best sources of linguistic information on

h/Vellard--2 D.E-5 (1930-1954) 1949 4F24 Uru 4F24

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this group are the handwritten monograph of Crépin-Montfort and Rivet, Métraux's vocabulary, and, at a less important level, the various publications of Posnansky containing numerous words more or less well noted down and translated.

The conditions under which most of the documents on the Iru-Itu group were obtained largely explain the imprecision of the meaning of numerous words and the often very different notation on which Crépin-Montfort and Rivet rightly insist. There is no doubt, however, that many of the words have a very broad meaning and that their pronunciation varies within rather large limits, especially with informants belonging to different generations, or influenced to varying extents by Aymara. One even notes considerable variations in the course of a conversation with one person.

During my long contact with the Uru, I collected an important vocabulary of more than 1,000 words, as well as numerous phrases making it possible to analyze the structure of the language.

The extent of this vocabulary and of the collection of phrases makes it impossible to publish them now. I have therefore been forced to make a selection of elements and conversations obtained from my informants. These texts /148/ relate to the daily life of the Uru. Beyond their interest in this respect, they illustrate most of the ordinary grammatical forms. Study of them also permits a comparison with the only known Puquina text, that of Oré, which is much more extended than it had been possible to do with the documents at our disposal up to now. This comparison, which gives evidence of very close grammatical and lexicographic affinities, will be the subject of a special note in the second number of this journal.

Two informants were utilized in the course of our long linguistic investigation. They belonged to two different generations and displayed considerable variations, not only in phonetics but also in vocabulary and syntax. Both spoke Aymara, the younger one fluently, and the older rather badly;

/189 cont./
could be *tukú- nus*, "woman," "spouse." Note the placing of the particle *Lúq*, "for," between the root and the ending of the verb.

It was interesting to publish these texts, which make possible some useful comparisons with Orbi Publica text, which will be the subject of our next note, and with Métraux's three Chipaya texts.

Considerable phonetic differences exist between Uru and Chipaya. For example, the ending *?ai*, as characteristic of Uru but which already is tending to become *?a* or to be dropped, becomes *ja* in Chipaya. Chipaya pronunciation is much harder, with a greater frequency of gutturals, no doubt as a result of Aymara influence. The Chipaya vocabulary contains a much higher proportion of Aymara, Kolla, and even Spanish words, and this does not originate solely from the nature of the texts gathered by Métraux: the trip of a Chipaya to Chile, and life in the barracks, one finds the same character in his second text, describing life in the fields. Outside the variable proportion of foreign words, differences in vocabulary are slight.

The syntax of the two groups is identical, but nevertheless much less varied in Chipaya.

All this underlines the close linguistic affinities of these two groups. It is the same language, practically extant, spoken by two small, completely separated populations; it is better preserved among the Uru and more altered among the Chipaya, and already displays considerable variations from one generation to another within the same group.

The differences are much more marked in the very content, rather than form, of the texts. The Uru mainly describe their work as fishermen and, to some extent, their customs. Métraux was able only with difficulty to obtain from the Chipaya a few phrases on their work /189/ in the fields and on animal husbandry, and his texts are mainly accounts of

Hrdlicka--31 D.C-5 (1938-1964) 1949 9F24 Uru 9F24

/132 cont./

125 Outside of Posnansky's small Chipaya group, no informa-
[41] tion exists on height or body measurements in these groups to
our knowledge.

126 We ourselves prepared only a very short series: six men
and three women, all adults. The fact that we are dealing
[42] with the last Uru must not be forgotten. Outside these nine
subjects, there were no other Uru adults at Iru-Itu other than
a young Uru woman about 30 years old and two very old women
whom it was impossible to measure and who allowed themselves
[44] to be photographed only with difficulty. The children were
largely Uru-Aymara half-breeds. The consanguinity of most
of our subjects is another inconvenience of this small series.

• 131 In spite of these defects it seemed necessary to us to pub-
lish our results, which allow useful comparisons with the works
of Posnansky and Imbelloni and will without doubt be the last
[47] observations on this group. Some other Uru are scattered in
the region and already interpenetrated into the Aymara popula-
tions; their affiliation will be difficult to establish.

134 It is regrettable that the ethnographers who visited the
region when the Uru were still numerous did not seek to obtain
a few essential anthropometric measurements. However, it
must be recognized that working conditions were not very
favorable; the Uru proved to be opposed to any examination of
this type, and the cold climate as well as their heavy, woolen
garments were also obstacles difficult to overcome. Patient
negotiations were necessary, for example, in order to get some
of them to allow themselves to be photographed without their
woolen caps, and most refused.

162 /133/ In 1942 the population of Iru-Itu was as follows:
--- 6 men, whose ages varied between 40 and 55 years.
--- 6 women between 30 and 80 years old.
--- 9 children, 5 boys and 4 girls, between 4 and 15 years
old.

4/Vellard--1 D.F-4.5 (no date) 1959-1960 SF24 Uru SF24

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[131] In several previous works we have cited a series of historic documents on the Uru.

Some of these documents were published by Créqui-Montfort and Rivet in their study on "La langue uru ou Pukina /The Uru or Puquina Language/," which appeared in the Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris, XVII. XVIII. and XIX. 1925. 1927.

Others are unpublished or were published individually in hard-to-obtain periodicals.

It seemed to us necessary, as a sequel to Créqui-Montfort's and Rivet's work, to publish the texts of some of these documents. We were unable to reproduce them in their entirety, but we extracted from them the chief passages concerning the Uru.

For other, recent works, we have merely listed bibliographic references.

Notes on the Uru

[101] The Uru give themselves the name of Kot'suñs, "people of the Lake." In old tales they are sometimes called uchumi (ouchoumi), a personal pronoun of the first person plural with an exclusive sense, meaning in their language "we, the like of us" as opposed to other men. The name ochozuma, found in Father de la Calancha's chronicle, corresponds to uchumi suñs (ouchoumi soufis), literally "our people" or "we, our kind of people," as opposed to other peoples. The Uru call other men tom'naka, "different people," or komt'sun'chay, "dry men," "land people." Similarly, Aymaracized fishermen call Aymara agriculturalists inaña hake, also /meaning/ "dry men."

The Aymara of the settlements call their Uru neighbors /[10]/ uru or uro (uruu, uuru), giving the second u a sound

8:Fain T-5 (ca.1954) 1955
5F24 Uru 5F24

Professor VELLARD from the University of San Marco, Lima, had been working for some time on the Uru living in a hamlet named Iru Itu near the juncture of the river Desaguadero and Lake Titicaca. He was of the opinion that this group were the last survivors of the original population of the South American continent, certain authorities contend that they originally came up from the Amazon as they have a number of linguistic affinities with certain Amazonian tribes. Their language is known as *Pukina* and is thought to be akin to *Arawak*, the great linguistic stock of South-eastern America.

Once having reached the highlands, what regions did they populate? There is a belief that they extended along the banks of the Desaguadero as far as Lake Popo and were the founders of Oruro, which correspoods to the Uru words 'Uru uru', meaning "many Uru". But at an unknown date they were dominated, but never assimilated, by the Aymara. One of the earlier Spanish chroniclers, DON PEDRO MERCADO DE PEÑALOSA, in a report dated 1586 in the Province of Pacajes, notes the presence, near the Desaguadero, of Uru, natives of the lake, where they were fishermen. He holds them in low esteem, remarking that they have no talent as agriculturists, and adds the revealing piece

8:Fain T-5 (ca.1954) 1955
SF24 Uru SF24

his *Historia y Moral de las Indias*, and this opinion is repeated by others. But I am under the impression that they are an unhappy race living during centuries among hostile populations, oppressed and ill-treated, finding consolation in their age-old traditions. They have nearly come to the end of their human cycle on the shores of the lake which, to them, is a holy site. Some strange belief forbids these fishermen to learn to swim, perhaps Titicaca claims from time to time a sacrifice to which they must freely consent.

Professor Vellard had arranged with KENNETH WASSON, the Director of Bolivia Films, to make a colour-documentary with some sound records on the Uru. He suggested that I might join them in the capacity of a photographer. Kenneth had his two assistants, JORGE ROJAS and AUGUSTO ROCA, and a young professor, RICHARD ARBELOT was also included in the expedition. As the length of time required to make the film was uncertain — the aptitude of the Uru for movie-work being an unknown quantity — we thought it wise to take some provisions. I suggested including a Primus stove, but the professor said we could heat our food on one of the village fires. The nights at nearly 14.000 ft. are apt to be extremely cold, so providing ourselves with sleeping bags, rugs and a quantity of photographic material, we set out early one stilly winter morning.

Our road led past the ruins of Tiahuanacu. The site is extensive and was an important Aymara religious and political centre. It remains one of the most interesting pre-Columbian monuments known in South America, but not by any means the oldest, the architectural remains and tombs of the coastal civilizations of Perú date from a far earlier period, and it is certain that the same applies to sites in Columbia. Naturally, the most extravagant theories are extant as to its origin, one of the most popular myths being that at the period of the mythical Atlantis it had been a seaport, Brazil and the Amazon being supposedly under the sea; but less romantic and

[p. 304-A]